



# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-028

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9 February 1990

**NOTICE TO READERS:** \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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\* Continental Conference on Islam Discussed

\* Major Addresses

90OL0205A Amman AL-LIWA' in Arabic  
3 Jan 90 p 7

[Article: "Islam in Africa: Largest Islamic Conference in the Black Continent"]

[Text] Africa's importance in Islamic terms can be inferred from the population density of Muslims there, as well as from the consciousness of Africa's economic role and position that the international conflict shows.

The Christian missions that worked in this continent may have come because of the low level of Islamic interest in it, especially on the part of official Islam. A number of international Islamic organizations have recently become aware of this, such as the Islamic Council in London and the Higher Council for Islamic Affairs in Nigeria. This interest led to the holding of the "Islam in Africa" conference in the city of Abuja, Nigeria, between the 24th and 27th of last month. A large number of Islamic thinkers, official government personalities, and Islamic organizations from the north, south, east, and west of the African Continent attended.

**Africa's Role in Spreading Islam**

In his speech, Dr. Latif Adbijiti, general secretary of the Higher Council for Islamic Affairs in Nigeria, stressed Africa's pioneer role in spreading Islam. He pointed out that the call to Islam received a response in Africa before the rest of the world. This happened when some of the first Muslims, on instructions from the Prophet, emigrated from Mecca to Ethiopia. Thus, the first seed of Islam outside the Arabian Peninsula was planted in Africa.

Dr. Latif pointed out that Islam is a complete system of life. At the same time, it is an all-encompassing revolution against all forms of injustice, oppression, and corruption.

The principle of monotheism is the firm foundation upon which Muslims stand, regardless of their color, geographical location, or race. He said that Islam calls for the unity of Muslims, on the one hand, and for international human brotherhood, on the other hand.

**Hajj Ibrahim Dasuki**

For his part, Hajj Ibrahim Dasuki, chairman of the Higher Council for Islamic Affairs in Nigeria, commended the efforts that had been made to hold the conference. He stated that this conference was a great historical event in the history of contemporary Africa—a healthy reflection of the Islamic awakening that was enfolding Africa and the entire Islamic world.

In his speech at the morning session, Hajj Ibrahim Dasuki touched on the role of the Islamic kingdoms and empires in West Africa in spreading and strengthening

the foundations of Islam in Africa. He praised the African-Islamic exhibit set up in the framework of the conference. He stated that this exhibit was the physical embodiment of a variety of Islamic activities during the centuries when Islam ruled Africa.

**Africa Indebted to Islam**

Representing the president of Nigeria, the general commander of the Nigerian Armed Forces gave a speech in which he talked about the first emigration of the vanguards of the Islamic call in Africa. He also discussed how Islam spread by way of Egypt and North Africa into the west of the continent.

He spoke about the role of the Almoravids and Almohads in spreading the call to Islam in Africa. He indicated that the continent of Africa was greatly indebted to Islam. While Europe was sinking in darkness, and before America was discovered, the light of knowledge was widespread in Africa. He said that a towering bastion of Islam must be built in Africa. He also discussed the Islamic problems that face Africa in general, and Muslims particularly.

**Emphasis on Unity of Goal and Destiny**

Retired General Shaykh Baradwa, chairman of the conference's organizing committee, stated that the conference was a basic step toward discussing the problems of Muslims and a serious step toward finding useful solutions to them.

He stressed unity of goal and destiny and the unity of the Islamic Nation. He lamented the fact that the role of Muslims in the world is still a subordinate one, despite the existence of over a billion Muslims on the face of the earth.

On the second day of the conference, Dr. 'Umar Jah, the Gambian ambassador to Saudi Arabia, presented a paper entitled, "The Effect of Islamic Jihad Movements on the Societies of Gambia and Senegal." He discussed the spread of the Islamic call in these societies.

Other speakers included: Professor Muhammad Nur Alkali, director of Maiduguri University in Nigeria, Sharif Ibrahim Salih of Nigeria, Professor Rashed al-Ghannouchi of Tunisia, and Professor Ahmad Hasan Muhammad of the Sudan. They emphasized the need to find a new method of spreading the Islamic call in Africa answering to the requirements of the Islamic awakening. They spoke about the task of missionaries and called on Muslim scholars to debate and discuss the affairs of Muslims.

Professor Rashed al-Ghannouchi spoke about the main features of Islamic missionary strategy in modern times and about the levels of "promoting virtue." He enumerated the various ways of promoting Islam individually or communally, such as building mosques and establishing schools.

Professor 'Umar Banna from King Faysal University in Saudi Arabia presented a paper on the need to preserve the Islamic architectural heritage. He called for the establishment of research and development institutions to spread Islamic architectural education.

At the conclusion of the sessions, the former president of Nigeria spoke. He praised the discussions of the conference and expressed great optimism that this conference would be a pioneering departure on the road to strengthening the pillars of Islam in Africa.

He commended the African-Islamic exhibit for giving sincere expression to the various intellectual and physical activities of Muslims in Africa.

It should be mentioned that an Islamic exhibit was set up in conjunction with the conference to show that African Muslim scholars had not lagged behind the cavalcade of Islamic civilization. The intellectual works they had left were concrete proof that Islam was not a local, racial, or national call, but a worldwide one.

The exhibit included a section on Nigeria and one on other countries. Arabic manuscripts and Islamic pottery from Africa were on exhibit, as well as Islamic weapons, historical pictures, and Islamic books and plaques.

The conferees issued a declaration containing recommendations, the motives for holding the conference, based on Africa's Islamic role, and the basic requirements for confronting the challenges that lie in wait for Islam and Muslims there.

#### \* Conference Declaration

90OL0205B Amman AL-LIWA' in Arabic  
3 Jan 90 p 7

[Article: "Declaration Issued by the Conference"]

[Text] Out of a deep conviction of Africa's historical role as the place of emigration and refuge to which certain companions of Our Master Muhammad, may God's blessings be upon him, came during the early Meccan period; recognizing, also, that Muslims in Africa share common experiences relating to the radical transformation in their society because of Islam and to their being the target of colonial attack and the scene of savage battles launched by Westerners against them; and whereas Africa is a fertile ground for differing ideologies and cultures, so that the continent of Africa has great possibilities of confronting and overcoming all the obstacles that stand its way or block its progress, if it truly returns to the root of its rich Islamic heritage:

In order to preserve the international vitality and dynamism of Islam, encourage cooperation and mutual understanding, and strengthen brotherhood in the community; and from a firm desire to strengthen and support the domestic front in guiding the nation and opposing

common enemies who stand for imperialistic colonialism and apartheid, as well as ignorance, poverty, and backwardness:

And with the goal of rediscovering and reinforcing the greatness and past glories of Islam:

We, the representatives of different countries, have met in Abuja, Nigeria, on the first day of Jumada I, 1410 (28 November 1989), to convene this conference under the slogan, "Islam in Africa." After a series of meetings, we have approved the following recommendations:

1) Muslims in all parts of Africa should be called upon to work for their unification as an inseparable part of the Islamic Nation, inspired by the directives and mercies of Our Master Muhammad, may God's blessings be upon him.

2) Muslims who have been isolated by geographical and political obstacles and by artificial boundaries that colonialism established for them to serve its imperialistic interests hostile to the interests of Islam should be stimulated to cooperate with their brother Muslims of the countries of the Islamic world in working to unite the ranks of the Islamic Nation, which was formed to implement the teachings and injunctions of God, the Most High and Almighty.

3) Islamic scholars should be called upon to join ranks to facilitate the unification of the nation and to urge it toward unity. The nation should work with all its energies to remove all obstacles and impediments between its ranks, especially Islamic youth. Scholars should also be called upon to review everything related to educational curricula, to correct or reform them, so that they harmonize and agree with Islamic ideals, goals, and principles, thereby fulfilling the requirements of Islamic society.

4) Muslims should be urged and exhorted to devote particular care to educating women and advancing them at all levels of education.

5) The learning of Arabic, the language of the Noble Koran, should be encouraged, in addition to the learning of all other foreign languages, where possible. Efforts should be made by every means to restore the use of Classical Arabic, the authentic and original language, for writing.

6) The conference sends its warmest congratulations and values highly the efforts of Islamic youth in the service of the teachings of Islam. These attempts by youth should be supported in every way.

7) Muslims should be urged to create strong economic bonds among themselves, with the Islamic countries of Africa, and with other parts of the Islamic world, to facilitate mutual assistance and cooperation in all areas, whether commercial, industrial, or financial, thus creating a sound economic system based on Islamic principles.

8) The conference cherishes the aspirations of Muslims in all parts of the African Continent, especially those who have been denied their choice of the Islamic *shari'ah* [Islamic law] as a final authority in governance and legal proceedings.

9) The conference greatly appreciates the efforts and activities of the Islamic associations in Nigeria, having seen them first hand. May these efforts be blessed! The

conference urges these associations to persist and offers them its full support. They should be provided with the opportunities to succeed in their task.

10) A permanent body should be formed, to be known as "the Organization of Islam in Africa," under the care and supervision of representatives to be chosen from the member countries.

**Cameroon****President Biya Attends Kinshasa Summit, Returns**  
*AB0802071990 Yaounde Domestic Service in French*  
*1900 GMT 7 Feb 90*

[Excerpt] President Paul Biya returned to Yaounde this evening after participating in a quadripartite summit in Kinshasa also attended by his counterparts of Congo, Gabon, and Zaire. The president, who left Yaounde with his wife this morning to attend this informal Kinshasa summit returned to Yaounde at 1845.

The summit was devoted to security in the southern African subregion, the alarming situation prevailing in Angola, the changes occurring in South Africa, and the continent's economic situation which is confronted with a serious crisis. According to our special reporters, the deliberations lasted two hours and took place aboard the Zairian president's yacht on the Zaire River. [passage omitted]

**Gabon****\* EEC Aid for Commodity Price Stabilization**  
*34190051C Libreville L'UNION in French*  
*27 Nov 89 p 8*

[Article by Neltoh: "Gabon-EEC: Compensation of 1.1 Billion CFA Francs for STABEX [Export Stabilization Fund]"; first paragraph is L'UNION introduction]

[Text] This agreement for the transfer of funds is a consequence of the decline in timber sales.

Represented by its ambassador, H.E. Mr. Michel Leslie Teale, the restoration government and the European Communities Commission (ECC) recently signed an agreement in Brussels for the transfer of STABEX (stabilization of export revenue from agricultural products) funds amounting to 1.1 billion CFA francs.

This transfer is a consequence of the decline in timber export revenue for the year in question, 1988. This is, in fact, the second time that our country has benefited from a STABEX. The first time was in 1975 and that STABEX amounted to Fr [French francs] 2.3 billion. Too, it was to compensate for our timber export revenue losses. From 1975 to 1988: It was after a period of only 13 years that our country once again benefited from this system of ACP [African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries (associated with the EEC)]-EEC cooperation. Mr. Protar, a delegate from the ECC, explained this shift into neutral as being due, on the one hand, to the improvement in Gabonese timber exports and, on the other, to the drop in the percentage of exports represented by timber because of the increase in oil exports. Timber exports represent about 13 percent of all Gabonese exports. Now, with the STABEX system, to be eligible the product has to represent six percent of the total revenue from ACP country goods (dependency threshold). There

is a total of 48 products eligible for STABEX. But, as far as Gabon is concerned, the only product that has been considered continues to be timber because cacao and coffee production volumes are still very low.

**To Increase Impact of Timber**

This sum of Fr1.1 billion granted Gabon will serve to finance operations whose objective is to contribute toward increasing the forestry sector's impact on the country's economy. It will be deposited in a joint account to be opened at the BEAC [Bank of Central African States] and administered by Minister of Planning, Development, and Economy Pascal Nze and Mr. Pierre Protar, the ECC delegate.

It is also worth noting that the Lome Treaty provided for this system to guarantee stabilization of revenue from exports by the ACP states of products to the European Community on which their economies depend (cacao and coffee for Ivory Coast) and which are affected by fluctuations of price, quantity, or both of these factors. But, due to the collapse of international prices, STABEX coverage has only accounted for about two-thirds of our needs. That has led the ACP to demand that the system be reformed and made more flexible. The Twelve [EC] have raised objections to this complaint. [as published]

**\* French Assistance for Rubber Crop Project Noted**  
*34190051B Libreville L'UNION in French*  
*2-3 Dec 89 p 6*

[Article by Neltoh: "Rubber Crop Project: France Allocates 375 Million CFA Francs To Finance Concomitant Research and a Food Crop Program in Particular"]

[Text] Minister of Finance, Budget, and Participations Jean-Pierre Lemboumba-Lepandou, assisted by Minister of Agriculture, Livestock, and Rural Economy Michel Anchouey, and the French ambassador, H.E. Louis Dominici, signed a subsidy agreement yesterday for 375 million CFA [African Financial Community] francs for "the development of the regions peripheral to rubber cultivation areas." A window of this FAC (Aid and Cooperation Fund) finance arrangement will be opened on a food crop program.

The present project actually accompanies the implementation of two industrial plantations established since 1981 in Mitzic and 1985 in Bitam in the Woleu-Ntem. During their initial years these have already benefited from FAC financial participation. This is the second phase of the financing of the project launched in 1986.

The first benefited from an allocation of 125 million CFA francs. The project will be jointly financed with the Gabonese Government (600 million CFA francs) and the European Communities (village plantation program: 805 million CFA francs). The part financed by FAC consists of concomitant research on rubber cultivation and the food and truck gardening crop program.

The objectives of this research involve the introduction and multiplication of new rubber clones in Gabon, the study of their behavior, methods of fertilization, crop protection and farming methods, etc. In addition to this, an IRA [not further identified]-CIRAD [Center for International Cooperation in Agronomic Research for Development] (Rubber Research Institute) researcher will manage the project. As concerns the food and truck gardening crop program (improvement in the supplying of workers with food products), the financing agreement will also take care of logistical needs.

After the abovementioned agreement was signed, the French diplomat said that he was happy to find himself once again at the side of the minister of finance to sign this agreement. He said that it comes under the heading of an action that directly affects the rural population and that France supports. Minister Lemboumba-Lepandou also spoke on behalf of the Gabonese Government to thank France, through its ambassador, for all the assistance it had provided before the crisis and continues to provide during this difficult economic situation.

#### Revitalizing the Economy

It is also worth noting that this rubber crop project involving 28,000 hectares of plantations in nine localities throughout the land in the form of industrial or village plantations bears witness to the interest the restoration government has in developing the rubber growing sector. But—and this above all—it augurs a policy of revitalization of the economy, particularly the rural economy, that should in the long run make possible the opening up and animation of rural areas at the level of the departments in question.

#### \* Planned 1990 Oil Output: 300,000 Barrels a Day

34190051A Libreville *L'UNION* in French  
4 Dec 89 p 7

[Article by Neltoh with the collaboration of Shell-Gabon: "If I were told the story of Rabi-Kounga...: Review of Petroleum Research in Gabon"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] But the discovery of new deposits in the mid-1980's, particularly the onshore deposit at Rabi-Kounga (481 million recoverable barrels), has led to a resurgence of interest in oil exploration in Gabon. Convinced that there is still oil to be found in the country's subsoil, new oil companies abound. The number of oil operators went from seven in 1986 to 12 in 1989 out of about 40 companies of various nationalities (British, American, Chinese, Japanese, French, etc.).

Rabi-Kounga, the bearer of hope, is not only a symbol of the rebirth of Shell-Gabon, the company that discovered the deposit, the extraction and oil production of which are enabling it to get out of a tight spot and become one of Gabon's biggest economic operators, but also a sign of Gabon's resurgence on the international oil scene. In 1989-1990 the country will have reached the peak in the history of its production. (Currently amounting to about 170,000 barrels a day, it will be close to 300,000 barrels a day, 120,000 of which are from the Rabi-Kounga deposit alone.)

That will mean an increase in Gabon's production quota and, consequently, a possible revival of the economy thanks to the introduction of foreign exchange. [passage omitted]

**Ethiopia****Three Generals, One Soviet Die in Helicopter Crash**

*AB0802145590 Paris AFP in English 1448 GMT  
8 Feb 90*

[Text] Addis Ababa, Feb 8 (AFP)—A Soviet general and two Ethiopian generals were among 17 passengers and crew who died in a helicopter crash in the eastern province of Harer Wednesday, radio Ethiopia reported Thursday.

Major General Aleksandr Simonov, described as a military advisor to the Ethiopian Army, and an unnamed Soviet translator were among the casualties, official sources said.

Among the Ethiopians killed were Harer-based 1st Army commander Maj. Gen. Berhanu Jembere and Brig. Gen. Gebreyes Wolde-Hana, first party secretary for eastern Harer.

Also killed were Colonels Kejela Gemedu, regional police commander for eastern Harer, Yimam Mohammed, operations officer for the 1st Army and Sereke Berhan Tesheberu, chief of internal security for the region.

The civilian casualties included a provincial administrator and three regional parliamentarians.

The radio said there were no survivors of the crash which occurred when the plane slammed into Gudo Bela mountain Wednesday in the Dengego area, which lies on the main Dire Dawa-Harer highway.

Foggy weather may have been responsible for the accident as the "short rains" have already started in Ethiopia.

It was not immediately known how long Gen. Simonov had served with the Ethiopian Army, but his death came amid reports that the Soviet Union was cutting back its military involvement in the East African country.

Maj. Gen. Berhanu Jembere, a former commissioner for relief and rehabilitation, won promotion and command of the 1st Army in May last year, following the failed coup by generals against the government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Brig. Gen. Gebreyes, a former head of the Political Department in the Defence Ministry, had shed his military union when he was named first party secretary for the eastern Harer several years ago.

This was the first air disaster in the country since the death of nine Americans—including U.S. Congressman Mickey Leland—and seven Ethiopians in a similar crash in western Ethiopia in August last year.

The deaths could be a blow to the Ethiopian Army which is in the midst of fighting Tigray rebels in the north at a

time when some 176 senior military officers are on trial for their role in the failed putsch in May last year.

**Addis Ababa Radio Reports**

*EA0802200990 Addis Ababa Domestic Service  
in Amharic 1700 GMT 8 Feb 90*

[Text] A helicopter crashed into a mountain in Alemaya Province yesterday morning at 1130. It was carrying 13 passengers, including high ranking East Harerge officials, four flight crew, and technicians. The cause of the crash has not yet been established. All those on board were killed.

Those killed in the crash are: Comrade Gebreyes Wolde Hana, member of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee and first secretary of the East Harerge Administrative Area WPE committee; Comrade Major General Berhanu Jembere, commander of the First Revolutionary Army; Comrade Major General Aleksandr Simonov, USSR military adviser;

Comrade Sereke Berhan Tesheberu, first vice chairman of the East Harerge Area Shengo Executive Committee; Comrade Colonel Kejela Gemedu, commander of the area police;

Comrade Yiryan Muhammad, officer of the First Revolutionary Army Command;

Comrade Fikre Mariam Asfaw, representative of the Ministry of Interior in East Harerge Administrative area; Comrade Siyad Umar officer in charge of matters of shengos, deputies, and nationalities and in East Harerge Administrative Area;

Comrade Bahru Mengesha Head of documentation and public relations of the East Harerge Administrative Area Shengo;

Comrade Selamu Tegegne Administrator of (Nogew) Province in East Harerge Administrative Area;

Comrade Sergeant Mamo Demeke Member of the East Harerge Administrative Area police;

Comrade Corporal Girma Demeke Member of the First Revolutionary Army; one Soviet translator, four crew members, and technicians.

The helicopter crashed into a mountain known as (Gulureda) at (Chelissa) Peasants Association village in the (Dengego) area of Alemaya Province.

According to the news received from the area, the cause of the crash is being investigated.

**Generals' Mission Not Specified**

*AB0802201990 Paris AFP in English 1903 GMT  
8 Feb 90*

[Excerpt] Addis Ababa, Feb 8 (AFP)—Six Soviet citizens, one of them an Army major-general, were among 17 people killed in a helicopter crash in eastern Ethiopia on Wednesday [7 February], reports here said Thursday.

Two Ethiopian generals, two colonels, a regional police commander and the regional chief of internal security were also among the casualties.

The six Soviets were Maj. Gen. Aleksandr Simonov, described as a military advisor to the Ethiopian Army, four crew and a translator, Andrey Semyolov.

Eleven Ethiopians lost their lives in the crash, which occurred when the Army helicopter piloted by one of the Soviets slammed into Gudo Bela Mountain in the Ale-maya region of east Harer at 11 a.m. local time on Wednesday, the ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY (ENA) said.

ENA gave the names of 12 of those killed in the crash, including that of the Soviet general, but the rest were simply identified as "the four Soviet crew and a translator". Nothing was said about their mission. [passage omitted]

### Tanzania

#### Ruling Party Chief Defends Socialism

EA0702202690 Dakar PANA in English 0915  
7 Feb 90

[Text] Dodoma (Tanzania) 7 Feb (SHIHATA/PANA)—The Arusha Declaration will continue to guide Tanzania's ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) toward the goals set in the blueprint for socialism and self-reliance 23 years ago, the CCM secretary general Rashid Kawawa has said.

"CCM believes that socialism is the liberator of the people and that this is not possible without the Arusha declaration," Kawawa told a mass rally at Tanzania's capital, Dodoma. Tanzanians celebrated the 13th CCM anniversary and 23 years of the Arusha Declaration on Monday [5 February].

Noting that the party's decision to allow private enterprise did not mean an end to the Arusha Declaration or the policy of socialism and self-reliance, Kawawa pointed out that the Declaration stated that only the pillars of the economy would be in the hands of the state.

Kawawa's remarks followed an expression of concern by Dodoma residents, who said the absence of Arusha Declaration would mean "leaving behind the majority of Tanzanians because CCM is a party for the weak and disadvantaged."

The secretary general said the declaration would continue to guide CCM and that socialism would be built in phases. It was because of socialism that Tanzanians enjoyed universal primary education, water, and health facilities, despite difficulties now experienced due to the prevailing bad economic situation, he said.

The Arusha Declaration, the blueprint for socialism and self-reliance was proclaimed in 1967, aimed at putting all

major means of production into the hands of the people. It discouraged private enterprises.

### Uganda

#### Fact-Finding Mission in Moyo After Bombing

EA0902091590 Kampala Domestic Service in English  
1700 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] The high-powered fact-finding mission that government sent to Moyo to assess the magnitude of destruction and cases of human life involved, following the bombing of various parts of the district by a Sudanese plane, is back in Kampala.

The mission was led by the first deputy prime minister, Mr. Eriya Kategaya, and with him were the Sudanese ambassador to Uganda, Mr. (Anis 'Abd-al-Hamid), together with Brigadier Muhammad from the Sudanese Army.

The mission also included Algerian, Egyptian, Libyan, Rwandese, Zairean and Burundi ambassadors to Uganda and Tanzania, and Kenya's high commissioners to Uganda. The mission also included the state minister for defense, Major General Tinyefunza, and deputy minister of foreign affairs and regional cooperation, Mr. Bart Katureebe.

Mr. Kategaya and the team of diplomats made an inspection of the various places that were bombed at (Aluru) Parish near Moyo Town. The team also reached an area where one of the 14 bombs that were hoovered [as heard] from a high altitude had not exploded, and weighed 250 pounds.

In this area, the Sudanese ambassador managed to make a few points to the angry crowd of residents, some of whom had their relatives killed by the bombs. Although the Sudanese ambassador implied that he too feels sorry for such incidents that keep on occurring on the Ugandan territory, he stated that he had to establish facts related to the recent bombing incident, and ascertain whether the plane really came from Sudan.

The angry crowd informed him that it was always bitter [as heard] for Sudan to accept responsibility of its brutal acts to Uganda.

The team was taken around all these places by the area NRC [National Resistance Council] woman representative, Mrs. Dominica Abu and the Da Moyo, [district assistant], Mr. Peter Lokiru.

Mr Kategaya said Uganda Government wished to be (?dissociated) from any person or government that contended it supported SPLA [Sudanese People's Liberation Army]. He however made it clear that on (?several) occasions, Sudanese soldiers and rebels from the same country received treatment from Uganda when (?they crossed) already injured and in accordance with the international law.

Mr. Kategaya also said Uganda and Sudan had agreed as way back as 1986 to put inside Uganda, along the border, units of patrolling intelligence officers so that Uganda could also do the same, but Sudan does not seem to see the idea take off. [sentence as heard]

Mr. Kategaya pointed out all cases where Sudanese troops have been killing Ugandans in northern Uganda since August 1986. He also informed the Sudanese ambassador about rumors that the SPLA had a radio station in Uganda, which was proved untrue by their military mission.

Reacting to that information, the Sudanese ambassador said it will be his government to provide an answer, adding that no good government can condone the killing of people.

The first deputy prime minister later addressed the people of Moyo in Moyo town.

Mr. Kategaya conveyed President Museveni's personal condolence, that of the government and the entire people of Uganda to the bereaved families.

He then, together with the team, visited the bomb victims who were undergoing treatment at Moyo hospital.

The first deputy prime minister later assembled the team he traveled with and read to the Sudanese ambassador a series of events where Sudan has involved Uganda unnecessarily in border conflicts since 1986. Mr. Kategaya said Uganda was not interested in such border conflicts. He added that armed conflicts divert funds intended for development, and when it comes to fighting it is the ordinary people who suffer.

Mr. Kategaya then stated that should these inhuman practices continue to emanate from Sudan for purposes of causing unrest on the Ugandan territory, Uganda will be left with no alternative other than defending its sovereignty, as it would be blamed if it failed to do so.

**Air Force Tracks USS Enterprise, USS Long Beach**

*MB0902065490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0625 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[Text] Cape Town, Feb 9, SAPA—Two of the world's largest nuclear-powered warships, both from the United States, were spotted on Thursday [8 February] heading south-west off Port St. Johns by South African Air Force [SAAF] reconnaissance aircraft.

It was reliably learnt that SAAF planes scrambled from Cape Town after unidentified aircraft were first picked up by radar off Durban.

The foreign craft had been launched from the 73,000-ton aircraft carrier USS enterprise, which was accompanied by the guided missile cruiser USS Long Beach.

The task force was expected to round Cape Point on Thursday night.

A civil aviation source in Durban said unidentified aircraft were first spotted on radar at Louis Botha Airport on Thursday afternoon.

An official SAAF communique said the American task force was "conducting some flying training in international waters," while a statement issued by Southern Air Command confirmed the names of the two ships and the direction in which they were headed.

**De Klerk Addresses House of Assembly 9 Feb**

*MB0902102190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0951 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[Text] House of Assembly, Feb 9, SAPA—The National Party [NP] rejected communism unconditionally as a dangerous ideology and as economic senselessness, the state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said on Friday [9 February].

He also said in the no confidence debate that it was untrue the NP did not lay a clear basis before the election for the steps it was now taking.

The CP [Conservative Party] made out that the NP had suddenly embraced and fallen in love with the policy of violence espoused by organisations such as the ANC [African National Congress]. However the NP rejected communism unconditionally.

"We will fight and oppose it at every possible opportunity.

"At the same time we stand against as strongly as ever against the politics of violence, from whatever quarter."

Previous methods of fighting communism and the politics of violence, however, had begun to be counterproductive.

"Circumstances demand a new strategy and the NP had the course to see this.

"The continuing prohibition on organisations had the effect of drawing attention away from their faults and their indefensible policies.

"At the same time it was a stumbling block in the path of the politics of negotiation."

Mr. de Klerk said he did not want to repeat the convincing arguments of numbers of his colleagues in this regard.

It was enough to say that whoever claimed the NP was flirting with communism and had become soft on the politics of violence, was telling a gross untruth.

He said the CP had become hysterical because the government apparently had no mandate or good grounds for the decisions he had announced.

Under established South African tradition it was not necessary to have a specific mandate for each particular administrative action or even for new legislation.

"Secondly, it is untrue that the National Party did not lay a clear basis before the election for the steps it is taking now.

"It is so that the particular steps were not spelled out. But no party does this."

The CP itself had given no indication of the boundaries of its proposed white homeland. However the NP had laid a clear basis and indicated a firm direction. He himself had said as leader of the NP in March last year that others who participated in negotiations had to be free to put their full viewpoint and counter-proposals without inhibition and a long list of prerequisites.

"Can you be free to put a point of view if you are banned?"

Mr. de Klerk said he had also referred last year to the necessity to remove stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation, and had said in August that where necessary a totally new approach would be used to do this, and that there was place at the negotiating table for any organisation which sought peaceful solutions.

"We are busy making this possible for them. If they still refuse, then no-one can continue to accuse us of unfairness.

For those who were still not convinced, there was the incontrovertible fact that circumstances had changed dramatically since September 6.

"This along requires and justifies fully the new strategy and approach."

"Further, all parliamentary parties with the exception of the CP, and every black leader of the self-governing national states, was in favour of Mr Nelson Mandela's release and the lifting of restrictions on organisations. They were all anti-communist, strongly against violence and supporters of democracy."

"And they represent millions and millions of moderate South Africans who seek peace. The same is valid for the great majority of urban black community leaders."

They all wanted to take part in negotiations, but said that the restrictions which had now been lifted had also been a stumbling block for them.

Did the CP want this mighty moderate bloc to be kept away from the negotiating process?

"No. Mr. Speaker, the CP's claims that we have misled the voters are without substance. And the arguments in favour of the steps we have taken are overwhelmingly positive."

Mr. de Klerk, who said he was speaking more as leader of the NP than as state president, said there was a dualism in the approach of the Democratic Party [DP]. They had mostly been sincerely supportive of the government's initiatives towards uninhibited negotiation, and he appreciated that.

However, almost all their speakers had wrongly accused the NP of poaching DP policy.

"Let me immediately put their minds at rest. The NP is not in the least interested in their policy with all its fundamental flaws.

"The DP does not advocate power sharing. Its policy will inevitably lead to a majority domination model. The NP rejects that.

"Whereas the NP strongly believes in effective protection of minorities, the DP only pays lip service to that concept, which is a prerequisite for peace in SA.

"I say to the DP: Let us continue to debate these fundamental issues but let us cooperate in getting real negotiation off the ground."

#### 'Not Frightened' of CP 'Threats'

MB0902103590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1031 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] House of Assembly, Feb 9, SAPA—The National Party was not frightened of the Conservative Party's [CP] intimidation and threats and would not allow any party to set fire to South Africa, the state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said Friday.

Speaking during a no-confidence debate he said that 40 years of failure to establish a white fatherland had driven the National Party to change direction and accept realities.

"But the CP cling to domination," he said.

While the National Party was advocating reconciliation and justice, the CP was advocating resistance and injustice.

"While the National Party advocates democracy and balance, they call for resistance and answer with strikes and boycotts, the methods and solutions of radicalism."

"The National Party talks renewal and courage and they talk racism and aggression."

"They will plunge this country into a racial war," President de Klerk said.

"The government and I will not allow anyone or any party to set fire to this country."

"The National Party is not frightened by intimidation and threats. We have seen nothing of their so-called tiger but much of their illmanneredness."

"We are not frightened by their Action One Million."

"The National Party will still be here 10 to 20 years from now, looking after the interests of its people and cooperating with the leaders of other people in working towards a new South Africa."

"The Afrikaner will never be alone. In fact since the founding he has never been alone in this country."

"Our 40 years of striving to create a fatherland for whites did not succeed and we decided in 1983 to change direction, to accept the realities facing us."

This was where the CP turned away and clung to domination.

Mr. de Klerk said the CP was the one which owed its voters an explanation for misleading promises in the past election.

Firstly they had promised the electorate that they would, if they came to power, create an own white fatherland with majority occupation by whites while the party's leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht had subsequently admitted that the four million blacks in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area were immovable there.

Secondly the party had promised rigid separation while its leader now admits that problems such as Hillbrow would rather be "prevented" than trying to "undo the past."

Thirdly, it claimed it was seeking a fair dispensation but simultaneously wanted to suppress others.

#### Botha, Mbeki U.S. Television Interview Noted

MB0902060090 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] The minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, has called on the ANC [African National Congress] and all black people in South Africa to accept that the government is committed to dismantling apartheid and starting negotiations.

Mr. Botha was speaking during a program on the American television network ABC in which he took part together with Mr. Thabo Mbeki, of the ANC, and the chief minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, of KwaZulu.

Mr. Botha said the ANC should accept that mistakes have been made and that the government should have negotiated with the organization years ago.

Mr. Mbeki, who is the ANC's spokesman of foreign affairs, accepted for the first time that Dr. Buthelezi should also take part in negotiations on South Africa's future.

Mr. Mbeki said he had been encouraged by the latest developments in South Africa but that further steps were necessary. He said South Africa was on the road that hopefully led to a negotiated settlement. However, Mr. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners had to be released and the state of emergency lifted.

Asked whether the ANC would welcome Dr. Buthelezi's participation in the negotiations, Mr. Mbeki answered in the affirmative and said all political forces in this country had to be involved in the process of creating a new South Africa. He said it was still too early in the process of reconciliation for sanctions to be lifted.

Mr. Botha and Dr. Buthelezi again rejected sanctions.

The presenter of the program, Mr. Te. Koppel, said he had been stunned by the degree of agreement between Mr. Botha and Mr. Mbeki, on the one hand, and between Mr. Mbeki and Dr. Buthelezi on the other.

#### Minister Defends Mandela in Parliament 7 Feb

MB0802182890 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 8 Feb 90 p 1

[By Mike Robertson]

[Text] Cape Town—Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee leapt to the defence of ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela yesterday, saying that when the history of the present period was written it would be shown Mandela had made a significant and positive contribution to the development of a new SA [South Africa].

Coetsee was responding to CP [Conservative Party] spokesmen who described Mandela as a "communist" during the debate on President F.W. de Klerk's opening speech to Parliament.

He said Mandela was not a communist and had broken up Communist Party meetings in his youth.

The unbanning of the ANC and other organisations had been made possible by a change in their attitude towards a negotiated settlement.

While the ANC was still issuing a variety of statements it was clear there was a preference for political solutions.

But this had not yet been made clear enough and he looked forward to the organisation clearly committing itself to a peaceful resolution of SA's problems.

Coetsee said while in the past the ANC and other organisations had called for the scrapping of all apartheid laws before negotiations could take place, it had recently revised its position.

Responding to calls for the scrapping of security laws, Coetsee said they were necessary in a period of transition. But this could be discussed at the negotiating table.

Government held that only exiles who had not committed offences would not be liable for prosecution in SA. But the freeing of political prisoners could be further investigated and become the subject of negotiations.

#### ANC Says 'Armed Struggle Continues'

EA0802184990 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English to South Africa 2900 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Tonight, dear listeners, in our English and Zulu language commentaries, we say: We cannot be expected to lay down our arms—our armed struggle continues.

Compatriots, it is truly nonsensical on the part of the Pretoria regime to demand of our vanguard movement, the ANC [African National Congress], to do more than it has already done (?to facilitate) a just political solution of the problem of apartheid. Since De Klerk's speech last Friday, compatriots, in which he announced the unbanning of the ANC, the South African Communist Party, and the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], and also the partial release of political prisoners, various spokespersons of the regime have been claiming that they have taken a step forward and now is the time for the other side—meaning the ANC—to take further steps to meet them half-way.

In particular, the spokespersons of the regime are calling on our vanguard movement, the ANC, to lay down its arms, to disarm its forces, and to stop the armed struggle against the apartheid system. One spokesperson of the regime has even gone so far as to call on the combatants of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], inside our country to surrender their weapons to the apartheid police. Let it be said that such reasoning—which attempts to portray our vanguard movement, the ANC, as unwilling to contribute to the search for a just political solution—is, after all, out of step with reality, out of step with the truth, and constitutes mere apartheid propaganda against the ANC. No one in his right mind can accuse the ANC of not having done more than enough to [words indistinct]. In fact, compatriots, the (?bitter) search for a political solution has been spearheaded by our vanguard movement, which at all times has stressed its readiness to seize at any opportunity that might arise to engage in genuine negotiations to

eradicate apartheid from the face of our country as soon as possible, and with (as little) bloodshed as can it allow [as heard].

Whatever proposals that have been made concerning the possible political solution of the conflict in our country, all have come from our vanguard movement, the ANC, and not the apartheid regime, nor the Nationalist [as heard] Party of De Klerk. In these proposals, we have clearly spelt out our preference for a political solution. We have even gone further than that to state without any ambiguities what necessary steps must be taken by the regime to create the conditions that can be said are conducive to a political settlement.

If today our vanguard movement, the ANC, is still talking about taking the struggle to higher and still more higher heights, this is not because of our making. It is the making of the apartheid regime, which has not met in full a universal demand that it create conditions conducive to this political settlement. [passage omitted]

Among the demands set out in the Harare Declaration was the demand for the lifting of the state of emergency. The state of emergency has of yet to be lifted and there can be no justification whatsoever for its retention when this can be done without further delay by the De Klerk regime. We have on various instances said why the state of emergency must be lifted before there can be free political activity in our country, a free political activity that can pave the way to negotiation. After all, compatriots, if the regime is genuine about seeking a political solution, it certainly does not need these martial law regulations which fo' bid those it wants to negotiate with from undertaking free political activity.

There is absolutely no need for the troops to be deployed in black residential areas without any other command but to suppress opposition to the apartheid system. The readiness of the regime to enter into genuine negotiation can only be understood as meaning a readiness to arrive at a situation in which apartheid will be eradicated in its entirety and a free democratic society in which all our people, black and white, will enjoy equal rights will emerge. We therefore find no sense on the part of the regime that says it is now ready to arrive at this eradication of apartheid to continue to deploy troops to suppress the very people. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted]

We will not lay down our arms unilaterally. Our armed struggle will continue until a comprehensive and just political solution is arrived at. Forward with people's action for a democratic South Africa.

**Sisulu Wants Government Structures Maintained**  
MB0902135690 Johannesburg *NEW NATION* in English  
9-15 Feb 90 p 2

[“Message From Our Leaders”]

[Excerpts] All structures of the mass democratic movement (MDM) must remain in place until the ANC's [African National Congress] National executive Committee (NEC) has issued a statement in response to its unbanning.

This was the message brought back from the ANC this week by Walter Sisulu and other recently released ANC leaders who had been in Lusaka, Tanzania and Sweden to consult with the movement's leadership.

“Things must be left as they are until the NEC makes a statement in Lusaka. We don't expect people to announce that they have formed a branch of the ANC etc. They must wait until they are told exactly what is to be done,” directed Sisulu in his return. [passage omitted]

One of the highlights of Sisulu's trip was the meeting in Lusaka of the ANC's enlarged NEC. [passage omitted]

“The conference took three days, and we listened to everything. We listened to all the members' complaints and they were very outspoken in their criticisms of the NEC.”

Another highlight of the visit for Sisulu was meeting Tambo in Sweden where he is recovering from a brain spasm, which has partially paralysed his right side.

“President Tambo is making a speedy recovery. He is still brilliant in his analysis of the situation,” said Sisulu.

**Boesak Addresses UDF Celebration Rally 8 Feb**  
MB0902050790 Johannesburg *SAPA* in English  
2304 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Cape Town Feb 8 SAPA—Labour Party leader MP, Allan Hendrickse and other “creations of the apartheid regime” like Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr. Lennox Sebe did not have a mandate to sit at the negotiating table, Dr. Allan Boesak said at UWC [University of the Western Cape] on Thursday night.

Addressing thousands of people at a UDF [United Democratic Front] northern areas celebration rally, Dr. Boesak said State President Mr. F.W. de Klerk could promise Mr. Hendrickse that he would sit at the negotiating table, “but he will be on their side of the table not ours”.

The World Alliance of Reformed Churches leader said sanctions should not be lifted until all apartheid structures were dismantled, the state of emergency removed, exiles allowed to return home and all political prisoners freed unconditionally.

"Not before we have had free and fair elections to decide who goes to the negotiating table should sanctions be lifted," he said.

After "all our joy and celebrations" after the unbanning of the ANC [African National Congress] last Friday [2 February], "we went home to the same conditions", he said.

Mr de Klerk had not even started talking about the dismantling of "pillars of apartheid" like the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act.

UWC Rector Professor Jakes Gerwel cautioned "about the mood of near euphoria which has arisen in us and our organisations now that it seems possible and likely that a new democratic order can be ushered in by negotiations".

The government had merely "corrected an injustice" and restored to people their natural right to organise.

It was of "crucial importance...that our people don't become demobilised. Our organisations need to become much more solid and strong and have to act in an accountable and democratic manner.

"The building of national unity is of the utmost importance," he said.

**Commentary Assesses USSR Problems, Reforms**  
**MB0902054390 Johannesburg Domestic Service**  
**in English 0500 GMT 9 Feb 90**

[Station commentary]

[Text] On Sunday [4 February], an estimated 150,000 people gathered outside the Kremlin, in the biggest demonstration in the history of the Soviet Union, to protest against the domination of the Communist Party.

Defiant banners declared: 72 years on the road to nowhere. Three days later, after a turbulent session, the Central Committee of the ruling party voted overwhelmingly to scrap Article Six of the Constitution and, thus, finally abandon the Leninist insistence on the Communist Party's right to hold a monopoly of power.

It was a stunning climax to yet another chapter in the comprehensive and total rejection of communism that in six short months has swept through the Eurasian land-mass. Less than three months ago, President Gorbachev himself was still resisting moves by dissident Baltic Republics to allow local opposition to the party. This week, he was telling colleagues that the party had no option but to allow multiparty democracy. In the interim, he had had to accommodate himself to pluralist

demands, not only in the border regions—the Baltic Republics, the Caucasian South, the Ukraine, Georgia, and elsewhere—but in Russia itself.

It was no longer possible to insulate the Soviet Union from the reforms that had overtaken Eastern Europe.

Mr. Gorbachev's aims now will be to remould the Communist Party in the hope that a majority of the Soviet electorate will continue to vote for it. It is an awesome assignment. The disillusionment with communism runs wide and deep, and it is directed as much at the illogical ideology as at the practical failures in its implementation and the oppressive policies with which it has had to be imposed.

So widespread has been its loss of credibility that even the traditionally Stalinist South African Communist Party [SACP] has had to take note. In a recent redefinition of the party's policies, Secretary General Joe Slovo spoke candidly of the mounting chronicle of crimes and distortions in the history of existing socialism, its economic failures, and the divide which developed between socialism and democracy. He acknowledged that the SACP would have to accept multiparty democracy in a postapartheid South Africa.

Commentators remain pessimistic about President Gorbachev's goal of creating a more humane socialism. He was shown few signs of being willing to tackle the economic contradictions inherent in his ideology: Its claim to promote the welfare of all while imposing a system of centralized control and extensive bureaucracy that smothers all initiative and wealth creation. The Soviet Union, with a quality of life incomparably lower than that of the capitalist countries, has, in recent years, undergone an alarming further deterioration. Basic foods are being rationed in one-third of even the relatively well-off Russian republic. Shortages of consumer goods are so bad that products available at workplaces are being auctioned.

The regime's ideological reluctance to move towards a free market economy, based on private property, is augmented by fear of the practical problems. So distorted is the pricing system that removal of price control would result in triple-digit inflation. Nevertheless, some halting steps have been taken. It is hoped that, over the next 10 years, up to 50 percent of the economy will be privatized through collective schemes ownership.

Western experts say far more will be needed, however tough the adjustment. Whether the reforms will be forthcoming remains to be seen. Meanwhile, it is clear that communism has finally been stripped of the illusion that it has any answers for other societies in their striving for justice, stability, and prosperity. It can offer none of these.

**Commentary Claims Sanctions Campaign 'Misguided'**

*MB0802184690 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1500 GMT 8 Feb 90*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The desperate need for the economic upliftment and development of sub-Saharan Africa is inextricably bound up with the whole question of economic sanctions against South Africa.

It has been pointed out many times by many people that the economic development of sub-Saharan Africa cannot be successfully tackled without the full participation of South Africa and its inherently strong economy.

South Africa is the regional power and economic hub of the subcontinent. To a greater or lesser extent, all the countries of southern Africa, and some further afield, are dependent on the South African economy in one way or another. The extent of the economic interdependence of the region is well documented.

The disinvestment and sanctions campaign against South Africa is, therefore, totally misguided. It is based on an economic fallacy, the fallacy that disinvestment and sanctions will promote black advancement in South Africa and that the rest of sub-Saharan Africa will somehow be developed while the South African economy stagnates. Because of its economic interdependence, all the countries of the region will prosper and grow together or degenerate.

A man who understands this very well is the former United States ambassador to South Africa, Mr. Herman Nickel. In an article published recently in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, he says the countries of sub-Saharan Africa are heading for disaster unless their political leaders face up to the self-inflicted causes of Africa's depressing decline. He points to the likely diversion of Western funds to the emerging non-socialist states in Eastern Europe and goes on to praise the role South Africa has played, and can continue to play, in Africa's development. He points out that Botswana owes its success to its diamond mine developed with South African investment and expertise.

Like that of Eastern Europe, Mr. Nickel concludes, Africa's economic recovery and growth will hinge on creating a framework of regional cooperation.

That framework in Africa will have to include South Africa.

**Police Issue 'Press Release' on Unrest 8 Feb**

*MB0802175690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1541 GMT 8 Feb 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Feb 8 SAPA—Following is a press release by Maj-Gen Roy During of the SA [South African] Police Headquarters in Pretoria on Thursday:

"There were a number of isolated instances today related to the English cricket tour.

"During the morning, 10 mini-buses were stopped in Alexandra and the passengers returned home as a result of police taking preventive action following the decision of the chief magistrate not to allow a demonstration in the vicinity of the Wanderers.

"Later a group of 2,000 people, mainly scholars, were stopped at the corner of Roosevelt and 19th Avenue. They refused to negotiate and were dispersed with a small amount of teargas.

"Scholars at Realogile School returned voluntarily to their school after being addressed by a police officer. However, a number of people were transported by members of the media in the direction of the Wanderers Stadium. They were stopped at 4th Avenue and dispersed.

"Nevertheless the police take a serious view of such interference by the members of the media, especially in view of the fact that it was well known that the chief magistrate had refused permission to demonstrate outside the stadium.

"The media refused to heed a request to leave the area and eight were transported to Alexandra Police Station, where they were addressed by a senior police officer and requested to leave the area, which they then did. After the media had left there was a noticeable decrease in activity.

"At 12:00 a group of 75 people assembled opposite the stadium. They refused to enter into dialogue with the police. They were warned and left in two groups.

"In four cases groups of approximately 100 people in various parts of Johannesburg dispersed after being warned by the police. A group of 150 people with placards marched to the Johannesburg Hospital.

"Outside the British Consulate in Small Street, a group of 20 people handed a petition to a representative of the consul. They then refused to depart and were dispersed by means of a baton charge.

"No injuries were reported during any of the above incidents and the public can rest assured that conditions in the vicinity of the Wanderers Stadium are normal."

**SABC Chief Discusses 'New Approach' to News**

*MB0802183490 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 8 Feb 90 p 1*

[By Alan Fine]

[Text] The SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] has officially jettisoned its policy of not giving a platform to what it called "political extremists", a change that has opened the way to TV and radio appearances by representatives of left-wing political groups.

This explains why viewers and listeners have recently heard the views of the likes of ANC [African National Congress] leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, and mass democratic movement personalities the Rev Allan Boesak and Jay Naidoo, and witnessed the editors of previously restricted "alternative" new-papers interviewing Cabinet Ministers.

SABC chief director of news Carel van der Merwe said yesterday the SABC had tested its new approach with open political debate in the run-up to the general election. The positive public response had encouraged the SABC "to carry on trying to be a good news medium. We believe voters cannot make proper decisions without being fully informed on issues," he said.

Other SABC sources said the change had come about at least in part because of urging by those who considered themselves professional journalists rather than government mouthpieces.

"After our election coverage listeners and viewers said it was the first time they were being properly informed by us," one source said.

Rhodes University journalism professor Gavin Stewart sees it differently, however.

"The new approach does not mean the SABC is independent of government. It just happens that government policy is now more reasonable. As F.W. de Klerk has changed government policy and attempted to incorporate other political groups into the process, so the SABC has redefined 'political extremism'," Stewart observed.

A senior SABC source said there had been no direct interference by government leaders in the post-P.W. Botha period. Another said the new policy had become clearer since the election "and since Friday [2 February] the whole thing has turned on its head". He said another indication of government's new attitude was that the younger Cabinet Ministers specifically stated they wanted the tough questions.

**SACP's Slovo Views Mandela, ANC Leadership**  
*MB0802193890 London BBC World Service in English*  
*1515 GMT 8 Feb 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] South Africa's law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok, has said today that the release of ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela is being delayed by threats on his life, particularly from white, right wing extremists.

But, Mr. Vlok did not rule out ANC members themselves being allowed to protect Mr. Mandela.

However, his release will pose its own problems for the ANC, which is in state of fluidity. Along with leaders already released, such as Walter Sisulu, Mandela has no

official position in the ANC at the moment, and he comes at a time when the ANC president, Oliver Tambo, has been seriously ill.

Well, top ANC executive Joe Slovo, and the leader of the South African Communist Party, is in London. Robin White asked him if all these changes haven't left the ANC in a bit of a mess:

[Begin recording] [Slovo] Well, I wouldn't consider it is in a bit a mess, nor that the situation is confused. It is absolutely clear, and a statement has been made by the Sisulu-released group, by Mandela himself, by all the leaders inside the country, that, at the moment, the leadership of the ANC is vested in the National Executive Committee. Of course, with the released leaders on the scene, there is closer and closer consultation and coordination between the National Executive and themselves.

[White] Presumably, you will want to get some kind of job for Mr. Mandela when he comes out and Mr. Sisulu, who is already out. You will have to renegotiate your leadership.

[Slovo] Well, obviously, the future will have to be looked at in relation to all these factors you mentioned. We are held for a national conference, which is due to take place this year. Well, I am sure it will take place sometime this year. That conference will sort out the whole question of who inherits the leadership in the normal democratic process.

[White] When will that meeting take place?

[Slovo] It should be this year. The timing will have to be considered in the light of the interesting situation created by the release of leaders and the impending release of Mandela himself.

[White] Isn't it a matter of some emergency to meet and sort this out now so that everybody knows where you stand and who your leaders are?

[Slovo] We have, in fact, started the process of meeting. A group of us met with the Sisulu-released leaders in Sweden recently. There is a national executive committee of the ANC coming up next week. The leaders who have gone home after the discussions were held in Sweden will themselves consult other participants in the struggle, and I am sure that out of all this will emerge a more organized strategy for the future.

[White] Has Mr. Tambo agreed to step down as ANC president?

[Slovo] The issue does not arise. Mr. Tambo is the president of the ANC. His condition is improving by the month and that it is just a question which has not in any way been considered.

[White] Wouldn't it make sense just to give it now to Mr. Mandela?

[Slovo] It is pretty obvious that Mandela will be a very important and primary leading figure in the future. But, as I have said, it is not for us to decide to give it to him now, as if it is a sort of knighthood that is in our gift to give.

[White] Do you think there is going to be trouble in South Africa when Nelson Mandela is released? Do you think there is going to be violence in the streets?

[Slovo] Not necessarily. I believe it depends a great deal on how the police react. If the police react in the way they have reacted recently to peaceful demonstrations in relation to the cricket tour, to children going in for peaceful protest on questions of education, then perhaps there could be retaliatory violence. But, the blame will be not with the ANC but will be with the government and its forces.

[White] You must be surely concerned for Mandela's safety from right wingers in South Africa.

[Slovo] Certainly. I think we, more than anyone else, are concerned with the safety of Mandela, but it is not as if the lunatic right wing has just emerged or that it has a fixed agenda. It has been around for years, and it has not only threatened violence but it has actually murdered quite a few of opposition activists. And, again, it is not as if the issue of Mandela's release has just suddenly arisen. It has been on the cards for more than a year. I would say it is a telling commentary on the government's degree or absence of control over its forces of so-called law and order that it has so little confidence in its ability to protect one major figure.

[White] The government, I think, is considering the possibility of allowing the ANC to protect Mandela when he is released. Do you think that would be a good idea? Or do you think that the South African Police [words indistinct]?

[Slovo] Well, I believe we will protect Mandela whether the government allows us to or not, and we are sure that the masses of people around him, wherever he lives, will see to it that Mandela is protected, perhaps even more safely from them than from the security forces.

#### Writes on Socialism

MB0802180990 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 8 Feb 90 p 8

[“Excerpt” of a paper by SACP Secretary General Joe Slovo published in Lusaka, Zambia “last month”]

[Text] Socialism is undoubtedly in the throes of a crisis greater than at any time since 1917. The last half of 1989 saw the dramatic collapse of most of the communist party governments of Eastern Europe. Their downfall was brought about through massive upsurges which had the support not only of the majority of the working class but also a large slice of the membership of the ruling parties themselves. These were popular revolts against unpopular regimes; if socialists are unable to come to terms with this reality, the future of socialism is indeed bleak.

The mounting chronicle of crimes and distortions in the history of existing socialism, its economic failures and the divide which developed between socialism and

democracy, have raised doubts in the minds of many former supporters of the socialist cause as to whether socialism can work at all.

Indeed, we must expect that, for a time, many in the affected countries will be easy targets for those aiming to achieve a reversion to capitalism.

Shock-waves of very necessary self-examination have also been triggered off among communists both inside and outside the socialist world. For our part we firmly believe in the future of socialism; nor do we dismiss its whole past as an unmitigated failure. Socialism certainly produced a Stalin and a Ceausescu but it also produced a Lenin and a Gorbachev.

Despite the distortions at the top, the nobility of socialism's basic objectives inspired millions to devote themselves selflessly to building it on the ground. And no one can doubt that if humanity is today poised to enter an unprecedented era of peace and civilised international relations, it is in the first place due to the efforts of the socialist world.

But it is more vital than ever to subject the past of existing socialism to an unsparing critique in order to draw the necessary lessons. To do so openly is an assertion of justified confidence in the future of socialism and its inherent moral superiority.

Communists outside the socialist world and revolutionaries engaged in anti-colonial movements were the beneficiaries of generous aid. They correctly saw in Soviet power a bulwark against their enemies and either did not believe, or did not want to believe, the way in which aspects of socialism were being debased.

All this helps to explain, but in no way to justify, the awful grip which Stalinism came to exercise in every sector of the socialist world and over the whole international communist movement. It was a grip which if loosened either by parties (e.g. Yugoslavia) or individuals usually led to isolation and excommunication.

Marxist ideology saw the future state as “a direct democracy in which the task of governing would not be the preserve of a state bureaucracy” and “an association in which the free development of each is a condition for the future development of all”. How did it happen that, in the name of this most humane and liberating ideology, the bureaucracy became so all-powerful and the individual was so suffocated?

The commandist and bureaucratic approaches which took root during Stalin's time affected communist parties throughout the world, including our own. We cannot disclaim our share of the responsibility for the spread of the Stalin cult and a mechanical embrace of Soviet domestic and foreign policies, some of which discredited the cause of socialism.

The implications for socialism of the Stalinist distortions have not yet been evenly understood throughout our ranks. We need to continue the search for a better

balance between advancing party policy as a collective and the toleration of on-going debate and, even, constructive dissent.

We do not pretend that our party's changing postures in the direction of democratic socialism are the results only of our own independent evolution. Our shift undoubtedly owes a prime debt to the process of perestroika and glasnost which was so courageously unleashed under Gorbachev's inspiration. Closer to home, the democratic spirit which dominated in the re-emerged trade union movement from the early '70s onwards also made its impact.

But we can legitimately claim that in certain fundamental respects our indigenous revolutionary practice long ago ceased to be guided by Stalinist concepts. This is the case particularly in relation to the way the party performed its role as a working class vanguard, its relations with fraternal organisations and representatives of other social forces and, above all, its approach to the question of democracy in the post-apartheid state and in a future socialist SA [South Africa].

Our party's programme holds firmly to a post-apartheid state which will guarantee all citizens the basic rights and freedoms of organisation, speech, thought, press, movement, residence, conscience and religion; full trade union rights of all workers including the right to strike, and one person one vote in free and democratic elections. These freedoms constitute the very essence of our national liberation and socialist objectives and they clearly imply political pluralism.

Both for these historical reasons and because experience has shown that an institutionalised one-party state has a strong propensity for authoritarianism, we remain protagonists of multi-party post-apartheid democracy both in the national democratic and socialist phases.

We believe that post-apartheid state power must clearly vest in the elected representatives of the people and not, directly or indirectly, in the administrative command of the party. The relationship which evolves between political parties and state structures must not, in any way, undermine the sovereignty of elected bodies.

We also believe that if there is real democracy in the post-apartheid state, the way would be open for a peaceful progression towards our party's ultimate objective—a socialist SA. This approach is consistent with the marxist view—not always adhered to in practice—that the working class must win the majority to its side: as long as no violence is used against the people there is no other road to power.

It follows that, in truly democratic conditions, it is perfectly legitimate and desirable for a party claiming to be the political instrument of the working class to attempt to lead its constituency in democratic contest for political power against other parties and groups representing other social forces. And if it wins, it must be constitutionally required, from time to time, to go back

to the people for a renewed mandate. The alternative to this is self-perpetuating power with all its implications for corruption and dictatorship.

We dare not underestimate the damage that has been wrought to the cause of socialism by the distortions we have touched upon. We, however, continued to have complete faith that it represents the most rational, just and democratic way for human beings to relate to one another.

Humankind can never attain real freedom until a society has been built in which no person has the freedom to exploit another person.

The ultimate aim of socialism to eliminate all class inequalities occupies a prime place in the body of civilised ethics even before Marx.

The all-round development of the individual and the creation of opportunities for every person to express his or her talents to the full can only find ultimate expression in a society which dedicates itself to persons rather than profit.

The opponents of socialism are very vocal about what they call the failure of socialism in Africa. But they say little, if anything, about Africa's real failure, the failures of capitalism.

Over 90 percent of our continent's people live out their wretched and repressed lives in stagnating and declining capitalist-orientated economies. Western outcries against violations of human rights are muted when they occur in countries with a capitalist orientation.

Socialism can undoubtedly be made to work without the negative practices which have distorted many of its key objectives. But mere faith in the future of socialism is not enough. The lessons of past failures have to be learnt. Above all, we have to ensure that its fundamental tenet—socialist democracy—occupies a rightful place in all future practice.

\* **Pik Botha Comments on Future of Walvis Bay**  
340003201 Johannesburg **FINANCIAL MAIL** in English  
24 Nov 89 p 50

[Interview with Foreign Minister Pik Botha: "Four Lost Years"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Pik Botha has been involved with the Namibian problem for 26 years. A week after the elections he talks to the FM on lost chances and future relations.

[FINANCIAL MAIL] Could we not have averted sanctions had we acted earlier on UN Resolution 435?

[Botha] No, I cannot say that today. On Namibia, this country gained a lot of advantages which outweigh the disadvantages. As a result of our acceptance of UN

Resolution 435 in 1978, we warded off sanctions for at least eight years...but then apartheid overtook us.

What we did not achieve in 1978—a schedule for Cuban withdrawal—only came about 10 years later. That in itself is an event of historical proportion. The combined effect of that on world opinion is positive and constructive and it lessened tensions in the whole of southern Africa and lends impetus to the peace initiative.

Yes, it took a long time; it involved a struggle. We paid a price—but we would have paid a far heavier price if we did not succeed in negotiating a time schedule for Cuban withdrawal and if I did not have the possibility of using 435 as a shield.

[FINANCIAL MAIL] This is all history now. Could Walvis Bay become a stumbling block in relations with Namibia?

[Botha] It won't be of our making. Let me give you a parallel. I do not ask the Mozambique government to give me Maputo to make the fullest use of that port. As a matter of fact, Maputo has given us all the freedom, almost as if it is our port...to upgrade it. They encourage us to use it. The status of the Maputo port is not at all an issue in my relations with Mozambique.

Exactly the same principle applies to Walvis Bay. I don't think any of the parties should start raising this as an issue. We know that it is the principal port for Namibia and we know that it will be very damaging to the community of Walvis Bay if that port doesn't function efficiently.

So it is a question of common interests. We want them to use the port, but without insisting on a change in status. We will not put any obstacles in their way which, from a practical point of view, would make it any different. But we trust that they would show some understanding of the history, background and concerns of the inhabitants of Walvis Bay.

[FINANCIAL MAIL] Can we assume that Walvis Bay will not be used as leverage to secure their friendship

[Botha] We don't act that way and I don't think we need to. I think the State President put it very aptly when he said that if Swapo [South-West African People's Organization] thinks we need Namibia, they are making a great mistake. We don't. Indeed, it has been a great burden for us and our taxpayers over many decades, running into billions. We don't want to rub this in, but it is a fact. What we look forward to is good, friendly, co-operative relations in the interests of all—if not far more in the interests of Namibia.

[FINANCIAL MAIL] What about the future attitude of the West on this issue?

[Botha] At one stage during negotiations in 1978 in New York, the talks with the five Western powers reached a breaking point. They wanted to make Walvis Bay part of the independence process of Namibia. I said no—but if

they were prepared to take a new look at all the enclaves around the globe...Falklands, Gibraltar, Alaska, the lot...and agree to a general principle applicable to all of them, my government, I said, would be prepared to enter into such a discussion.

That stopped it. We managed to ensure in this way that Walvis Bay never featured in Resolution 435, or in any of the subsequent agreements. Or in any of the Security Council resolutions endorsing the peace plan. The general consensus was that Walvis Bay was an issue that ought to be resolved by the governments of SA [South Africa] and an independent Namibia.

[FINANCIAL MAIL] Can you trust the West not to turn around on the Walvis Bay issue?

[Botha] Of course you can't. That is why it is important to me to develop a relationship with Namibia where the advantages outweigh any disadvantages which may result from either country insisting, one-sidedly, on a specific point of view. I would hope that the Walvis Bay issue would be kept outside of the parameters and that the two countries ought to concentrate on essential agreements.

We are not going to top up the Namibian budget any more. That the international community must do—but naturally, in all matters which are also in the interests of SA and Namibia, we stand ready to negotiate, agree and co-operate.

[FINANCIAL MAIL] Will SA maintain a strong military presence in Walvis Bay?

[Botha] I would not term it a strong one...I will say a normal one. But certainly not one to be seen or experienced as a threat. That is not our purpose.

I sincerely believe that the momentum of peace is going to be greater than the temptation of pursuing lesser ideological and emotional issues.

It will dawn on all governments of southern Africa. We have an historic opportunity. The last opportunity we had was in 1984 after Nkomati; by October of that year we were on the point of concluding the ceasefire in Mozambique. Earlier that year I arranged for President P. W. Botha to tour Europe.

The whole world atmosphere was one of giving us a chance. That was 1984 and we had no sanctions. It was not on the mind of any government of the world. Suddenly, by 1986, we got it. We lost four years. Historians will one day cast their judgement.

\* Trade Union Development in 1980's Reviewed  
340003364 Johannesburg *THE NEW NATION* in English  
21 Dec 89-4 Jan 90 p 17

[Text] The decade began with the state ushering in a new era in labor relations, largely in response to the re-emergence of militant trade unionism. It amended its labour laws to match that reality and to control this resurgence in worker militancy.

First signs of tangible change were noticed in 1979, when Nic Wiehahn tabled his first report on labour reforms and advocated the legal recognition of black trade unions. He also advocated registration of unions.

This presented the independent unions with crucial tactical and principled decisions.

The question around whether to register or not formed the basis of one of the most important debates and threatened to cause deep divisions in the emerging trade union movement. At one level, registration in terms of the new law offered benefits in the form of stop order facilities, legally binding agreements and access to industrial councils.

#### Controls

At another level, registration stood to compromise unions by subjecting them to a range of controls that had been put in place as part of the Labour Relations Act (LRA).

Registration did not remain an issue for long, and today most unions, except some in the public and agricultural sector, are registered.

The heightened militancy and political consciousness among workers, along with the promulgation of the LRA, facilitated recognition of unions and also resulted in the rapid growth of the labor movement.

This growth in the labour movement was also reflected in the increase in the number of agreements from just five in 1979 to more than 406 in 1980.

According to figures published in the SA [South Africa] Labour Bulletin, more than 280 of these agreements were signed by unions affiliated to the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu), which was formed in 1979.

A year later in 1980, unions characterised by a Black Consciousness leaning formed the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa). The Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (Ccaawusa) remained outside both federations.

In 1982, Cusa formed what was to become the biggest and most powerful industrial trade union, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). In so doing it had entered a sector, which because of its migrant labour base, had largely been left unattended.

The crucial role that the mineworkers union was to play in the 1980's first became apparent after 1982 when labour analysts recorded a huge increase in the number of workdays lost through strikes. Mine strikes were largely responsible for the huge increase noticed in 1985.

#### Lost Workdays

In fact, the NUM was responsible for about one million of the total number of workdays lost between 1979 and 1986, followed by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (Naawu), which accounted for just under 400,000 workdays.

In fact, the most disruptive and costly industrial action of the decade is without doubt the 1987 miners strike, which set the industry back by about R300-million.

The total number of workers organised into trade unions also increased from around 70,000 to around 300,000 between 1979 and 1983.

This higher level of organisation was also reflected in the increase in the number of strikes and workdays lost as a result. From under 100,000 in 1979, the number of workdays lost increased to over 350,000 in 1982 and then to almost 700,000 in 1985. Two years later in 1987, the total number of workdays lost reached a record level of almost 6-million. Once again the major contributor was the NUM.

Until the turn of the last decade, unions affiliated to Fosatu concentrated almost entirely on building organisation at factory floor level. Independent unions like the Western Cape General Workers Union, also concentrated efforts on building workplace structures.

The SA Allied Workers Union (Saawu), formed in 1979 after the split in the Black Allied Workers Union (Bawu), took on a much more overt political stance and, for example, openly opposed the independence of Ciskei.

But the early 1980s saw a shift in emphasis when Fosatu affiliates for the first time engaged meaningfully in political protest when their members decided to participate in the November 1984 two-day stayaway in the Transvaal.

Fosatu unions also called for a boycott of the tricameral elections that year.

This signalled the beginning of a new era in the political direction of the independent trade union movement. This new direction gained fuller expression in years to come with Fosatu moving to the centre stage of political protest. It adopted the Freedom Charter as representing a minimum set of demands, and resolved to build disciplined alliances with political formations in the democratic struggle. The need for a workers charter was also put onto the agenda.

With the resurgence in militant worker organisations, the need for broader unity was put onto the agenda at a meeting in Langa, Cape Town, in 1981.

**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**FIRIS-AFR-94-028  
9 February 1990

After four years of often stormy talks, 33 unions representing around 600,000 workers decided to form the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu). Cusa had decided to stay out, but its mineworkers' affiliate, the NUM, broke ranks and became Cosatu's biggest affiliate.

Cusa later merged with a much smaller federation, the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu) to form the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

While the independent unions continued to increase in size, the established Trade Union Council of SA (Tucsa), which was numerically the biggest federation until 1985, disappeared from the labour scene.

Cosatu by comparison, ended up with a million members at its last national congress this year, making it the biggest federation in the history of labour struggle in SA.

Nactu ranks a far second, and at its last congress reported paid-up membership of less than 300,000.

### Angola

#### Communiqué Reports Israel Wants Diplomatic Ties

MB0802201990 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese 1930 GMT  
8 Feb 90

[Text] Luanda, 8 Feb (ANGOP)—The Israeli Labor Party delegation that visited Angola 30 January-5 February wishes to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries and parties.

A Party Central Committee Department of Foreign Affairs communiqué distributed to ANGOP 7 February says the wish aims to "contribute to the well-being of the two peoples and peace in the southern African region."

The communiqué adds that, during its stay in Angola, the Israeli delegation and a delegation from the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)-Labor Party examined relations based on principles of mutual respect, noninterference in the internal affairs of each state, and equal and mutual advantage.

The Israelis were also briefed on the successes achieved by the Angolan people and efforts undertaken to improve the people's living conditions.

The Israeli Labor Party delegation was led by Foreign Relations Director Abraham Hatzamri and visited Angola at MPLA-Labor Party's invitation.

#### Van Dunem Learns Ex-Koevoet Members Aiding UNITA

MB0802201790 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0920 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Text] Windhoek Feb 8 SAPA—The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) government in Angola has received information that former members of the disbanded Koevoet counter-insurgency unit are helping UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) rebels fight the government in the Angola civil war, MPLA secretary for foreign relations, Mr. Alfonso van Dunem Mbinda, told a news conference at Windhoek Airport on Wednesday [7 February].

"This situation is of real concern to our government," he added.

Mr Mbinda was responding to questions about unconfirmed reports that former members of the South African-led security forces had crossed the border to join UNITA.

He said he believed the Angolan Government would find "The right measures at the right time" to tackle the situation.

"A considerable number, possibly hundreds" of Namibians were involved, he said.

Mr. Mbinda was speaking at the end of a two-day visit to Namibia to strengthen ties between the MPLA and the incoming SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization) government.

The visit included a meeting with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma.

The high-ranking Angolan, who was foreign minister when the New York accord between Angola, Cuba and South Africa was signed in December 1988, was accompanied by MPLA Central Committee Member Ms. Ruth Neto.

Ms. Neto is also the head of the Angolan Women's Organisation and the Pan-Africanist Womens Organisation, as well as the sister of the late president Augustino Neto.

Mr Mbinda said his government wanted a political solution to the civil war and would pull out all stops to achieve this.

"Angola needs peace to reconstruct," he said.

#### UNITA Reports Mavinga Battles Remain 'Hot'

MB0802191790 (Clandestine) KUP in English  
to Southern and Central AF ca 1900 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] [No dateline as received] Jamba.... the provisional capital of liberated Angola.

No 197, Thursday, 8 February, 1990.

Military briefing...

Mavinga is still under UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) control.

A briefing statement on the present military situation in Angola released in Jamba February 8 says the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) forces are deploying the 1st, 2d, 4th and 6th tactical groups to step up pressure on Mavinga.

The statement said 17 MPLA troops were killed and two trucks destroyed when UNITA forces attacked the 43d tactical group stationed at the source of the Lomba River. The group is still tightly encircled by UNITA forces.

Another FAPLA (People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) unit was attacked north of the Lomba River destroying four tanks, six BMP-1 and twelve military trucks, while the MPLA forward command post at Kavungo was forced to move west on February 7, following stepped up UNITA attacks.

The statement added that MPLA forward forces have at the moment no fuel or food, and are relying on possible supplies from Cuito Cuanavale.

"Meanwhile, they are just stealing fresh maize and other property from civilians", the statement said.

It further said that MPLA jets have intensified bombings in the last 48 hours but all on civilian settlements. A technical school of nursing, a hospital and two villages have been destroyed on the outskirts of Mavinga.

The statement said that in spite of MPLA denials, UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] has undeniable evidence on the involvement of Russians in this offensive, and added that Cuban troops are at this moment moving from Cuito Cuanavale towards Mavinga, carrying with them food supplies and reinforcement equipment.

The battles are still hot.

UNITA has appealed to the Western countries to fulfill their role in support of UNITA forces, who are fighting for democratic principles and freedom in Angola.

#### Mavinga Civilian Relocation Noted

*MB0802193090 (Clandestine) KUP in English to Southern and Central Africa 1900 GMT 8 Feb 90*

[Text] [No dateline as received] Jamba ... The provisional capital of Liberated Angola.

No. 199—Thursday, 8 February 1990.

Indiscriminate bombing.

Soviet backed MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] troops, tanks to capture the strategic UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] held town of Mavinga have stepped up indiscriminate air bombardments on civilian target in the area, disclosing this in an interview here, UNITA secretary-general and member of the superior command of UNITA armed force, Gen. Miguel Nizau Puna said that the movement has been obliged to transfer civilians from the affected areas to more secure hospitals, the agriculture school (ETAP) and civilian settlements along the Lomba River, have been subjected to intensified and indiscriminate bombing by the Luanda regime in recent days causing many casualties among the civilian population.

#### 8 Feb 'Military Situation Report'

*MB0902070290 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[“Political and Military Situation Report” by the Office of the Chief of UNITA’s General Staff, issued on 8 February; place not given]

[Text] The following is a political and military situation report for the 1000 period on 8 February 1990:

1. Mavinga is still under UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] control.
2. The enemy is exerting strong pressure and has deployed the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th tactical groups as

forward forces. These units are stationed eight km west, 10 km northeast, and five km north of Mavinga, respectively.

3. If [Defense Minister] Pedale addressed a rally in Cuito Cuanavale on 5 February 1990 it means that Mavinga is not under FAPLA [People’s Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] control. In addition to the aforementioned distances, more proof that Mavinga is not in FAPLA hands is the enemy soldier captured on 7 February 1990. He is (Paulo Antonio Mulombo), as mentioned in our situation report for the 2200 period on 7 February 1990.

4. Enemy forward forces lack fuel and food and are expected to be relieved by huge columns traveling from Cuito Cuanavale. Meanwhile, FAPLA units have resorted to plundering corn and other civilian property, enabling our forces to capture enemy soldiers.

5. In view of strong attacks launched by our forces at 0500 on 7 February 1990, the enemy forward command post has been compelled to move from Cavungo, heading westward. Another enemy position stationed north of Lomba River was attacked. The enemy fled in disarray, abandoning four tanks, six BMT-1’s, and 12 cargo vehicles.

6. The 43d tactical group, stationed at the source of Lomba River, is still besieged and unable to make any movement. This group was attacked at 0800 on 7 February 1990. A total of 17 FAPLA soldiers were killed and two vehicles destroyed. Our forces suffered three wounded.

7. Enemy aircraft have increased operations in the past 48 hours, systematically bombing civilian targets. In these desperate actions, the enemy destroyed a nurse’s training school and the adjacent hospital, as well as two villages near Mavinga.

8. We have irrefutable proof of Soviet involvement in this offensive, despite denials by the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party Government. Soviet personnel are present in the forward command post, coordinating tactical groups and manning artillery pieces, particularly M-46 long-range guns. Apart from manning MiG-23’s, the Cubans are presently heading from Cuito Cuanavale to Mavinga, carrying supplies and equipment to FAPLA forces.

9. UNITA has been fighting on its own for freedom and democracy, and it wonders the stand to be taken by the Western world and peace-loving peoples in view of such cruel foreign aggression against the Angolan people.

10. We will know how to fight for our fatherland until final victory.

[Issued] Office of the Chief of General Staff, 8 February 1990

[Signed] Colonel Zacarias Mundanda, deputy military intelligence chief

### 'Proof' of Cuban Involvement

*MB0902072190 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[Communiqué by FALA's chief of general staff, issued in Mavinga on 8 February]

[Text] 1. FALA's [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] Chief of General Staff informs domestic and foreign public opinion of the direct Cuban involvement in the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] offensive against Mavinga.

2. We have undeniable proof that a Cuban column left Cuito Cuanavale at 0905 on 8 February and is heading toward the operational area.

3. FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] is unable to supply its units, and these are being relieved by Cubans in a flagrant violation of international accords.

4. This violation should not go unnoticed by those fighting for world peace and democracy.

Our fatherland free or dead! United we shall win!

[Issued] Mavinga, 8 February 1990

[Signed] General Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben Ben, chief of General Staff

### More on 8 Feb Military Situation

*MB0902080090 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[“Political and Military Situation Report” by the Office of the Chief of UNITA's General Staff, issued on 8 February; place not given]

[Text] The following is a political and military situation report for the 1800 period on 8 February 1990:

1. There has been no change in the [words indistinct] forces involved in operations.

2. At 1100 on 8 February 1990 our forces attacked the 1st and 3d tactical groups stationed north and northeast of Mavinga, respectively. The enemy suffered nine killed, including a company officer commanding. Two BMP-1's and three cargo vehicles were destroyed.

3. Forces of the 4th tactical group attempting to break into our lines west of Mavinga were repelled. The enemy suffered five killed. Two tanks were destroyed. Our forces suffered one killed and two wounded.

4. Famine is still afflicting enemy ranks, causing soldiers to desert. Eight FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers abandoned their posts in the past eight hours.

5. A Cuban column carrying relief supplies for FAPLA forces left Cuito Cuanavale at 0905 today.

6. The Cubans will continue to kill the Angolan people, like they have been doing for the past 15 years. They expect UNITA not to take any action in view of such a hideous and horrific manslaughter. We wonder how the world views this situation.

7. We will know how to fight for our fatherland until final victory.

[Issued] Office of the Chief of General Staff, 8 February 1990

[Signed] Colonel Zacarias Mundanda, deputy military intelligence chief

### Nzau Puna Assesses Situation

*MB0902113190 (Clandestine) KUP in English to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[Text] [No dateline as received] Soviet backed MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] troops, tanks to capture the strategic UNITA [National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola] held town of Mavinga have stepped up indiscriminate air bombardments on civilian target in the area, disclosing this in an interview here, UNITA secretary-general and member of the superior command of UNITA armed forces, General Miguel Nzau Puna said that the movement has been obliged to transfer civilians from the affected areas to more secure hospitals, the agriculture school (ETAP) and civilian settlements along the Lomba river, have been subjected to intensified and indiscriminate bombing by the Luanda regime in recent days causing many casualties among the civilians population.

Gen. Puna said that Mavinga continues solidly in UNITA hands and that battles are now raging 15 to 20 kms from the town. He added that Cuban troops to reinforcements are discreetly being brought in from Cuito Cuanavale to try and offset the inability of MPLA troops to advance and take Mavinga in put up by UNITA forces defending the town. [sentence as received]

MPLA troops involved in the operation are confronting enormous difficulties including lack of essential supplies and widespread demoralisation leading to a high rate of the desertions. The situation further deteriorated with the crippling of the 43st [as received] MPLA brigade trying to bring in supplies and which is completely surrounded.

Meanwhile, UNITA has flatly rejected the recent proposals made by MPLA President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, saying that these do not mean anything new. In the same interview, Gen. Puna said that it is not associations which will create democracy in Angola because this can only come about through UNITA since it is the only political organisation which is well structured with a strong army and a correct policy.

**Botswana****Masire Denies Ready for RSA Diplomatic Mission**

*MB0802205590 Gaborone Domestic Service  
in English 1910 GMT 8 Feb 90*

[Text] The president, Dr. Quett Masire, has said the time is not yet ripe for Botswana to open a diplomatic mission in [the Republic of] South Africa [RSA].

Dr. Masire was speaking in an interview with a South African journalist, Mr. (Maxwell Masokwe), of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, yesterday.

The president reiterated Botswana's long standing policy of (?awaiting) the emergence of a free and democratic South Africa before establishing diplomatic relations with that country.

Mr. Masire pointed out that South Africa was under an apartheid regime, adding that this was a fact even though Botswana and South Africa were both members of the Southern African Customs Union.

Asked whether there would still be need for the continuation of the Frontline States after Namibia's independence and the normalization of things in South Africa, Dr. Masire said it was premature to think of the dissolution of the Frontline States at this stage.

Dr. Masire said he was glad that the South African Government had at last come around to accept that apartheid was the cause of that government's problems. He said what remained now was for that government to take the necessary steps to eradicate apartheid, which he described as an obnoxious system.

Dr. Masire said President de Klerk's reform initiatives, which were announced last week, had a bearing on Botswana, because peace in that country would mean peace in the region. The president called on Mr. de Klerk to urgently address the release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency.

**Mauritius**

\* **Japanese Cooperation Intensifies; Tourism Up**  
*90EF0187C Port Louis WEEK-END in French  
7 Jan 90 p 6*

[Unattributed article: "More and More Japanese Tourists in Mauritius"; first paragraph is WEEK-END introduction]

[Text] The possibilities for increasing cooperation between Port Louis and Tokyo predominated during the recent discussions at the meeting between His Excellency Hideki Harashima, the new Japanese Ambassador to Mauritius, and Sir Anerood Jugnauth, the prime minister.

According to Mr. Harashima, after the completion of the hotel infrastructures financed by Japanese credits to Mauritius, an increase in the number of Japanese tourists should come to the island during the years to come.

Concerning the question of a direct air connection between Mauritius and Japan, the Nipponese ambassador let it be understood that the question of the landing rights of Air Mauritius at Tokyo was under study.

Furthermore, His Excellency Harashima hoped that the plan to open a Japanese diplomatic mission at Port Louis would materialize as soon as possible.

The Japanese ambassador met Sir Satcam Boelle, foreign minister, and discussed with him regional questions in particular. His Excellency Harashima reportedly also praised the Mauritian Government's efforts to combat pollution.

During an interview he granted to the MABC/TV, the Japanese diplomat reportedly also stated he was impressed by the island's economic development. Furthermore, he let it be understood that the landslide at La Butte, on which a team of Japanese technicians is working, is a serious problem that has engaged the attention of Japanese authorities.

Mr. Harashima, who was accompanied on his courtesy visits by the Honorary Consul Mr. Colin Hare, met the finance minister, Mr. Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo as well as the minister for planning and economic development, Dr. Beergoonaauth Ghurburrun.

The ambassador also met other personalities. Mr. Harashima is married, a career diplomat, and this is his first post as an ambassador. He is based at Tananarive, Madagascar.

**Mozambique****Chissano Congratulates South African President**

*MB0902114790 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano saluted the measures announced by Frederik de Klerk, his South African counterpart, when he opened Parliament a week ago.

Chissano says in a message to De Klerk that the measures will help lead all South Africans to democracy and southern Africa to stability, good neighborliness, and cooperation.

The Mozambican president said: We know there are still obstacles that could endanger the process, but it is not impossible to overcome them.

Chissano encouraged De Klerk to continue with the courage and determination he has shown so far.

Joaquim Chissano's message says the Mozambique Government is firmly committed to cooperating with all interested sides in the region and the world so that everybody's goals can be quickly achieved, namely the establishment of a society in which all South Africans, regardless of the color of their skin, would fully enjoy their social and political rights.

### Maputo Denies Renamo Claim of Split, Coup

*LD0802172690 Lisbon Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 2300 GMT 7 Feb 90*

[Text] The Maputo government has denied Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] allegations that there is a split in Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] over the question of peace talks with the rebels, and that a military coup is imminent.

Speaking to the [Portuguese] LUSA news agency, the Mozambican national director for information said that the Renamo claims—made today through a spokesman—are totally unfounded.

Renamo says that Frelimo is split into two opposing factions over the question of peace talks.

### Iranian Envoy Meets Press on Joint Cooperation

*MB0802185190 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1400 GMT 8 Feb 90*

[Text] Iranian Ambassador to Maputo (Said Daudi Sali) said bilateral cooperation with Iran is broadening on mineral resources, geology, and training of Mozambican cadres.

The Iranian diplomat addressed a news conference in Maputo today on the 21st anniversary of the Iranian revolution.

The Iranian ambassador reaffirmed his country's wish for continued cooperation to restore and rebuild our country, devastated by the war of destabilization.

The Iranian diplomat reported Mozambican technicians will be sent to Iran for mineral resources training.

### \* Outline of New Constitution Toward Democracy

*34000337D Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN  
NEWSLETTER in English 13 Jan 90 p 3*

[Text] The outline of the new Constitution presented on January 9 in Maputo by president Joachim Chissano, concretises the democratic turn taken by Mozambique and at the same time, confirms the abandoning of any reference to Marxism-Leninism. When the Parliament adopts the new Constitution, the President will be elected by direct universal suffrage whereas at present, whoever is president of the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] automatically becomes Head of State. The President will be elected for a maximum of three five-year terms and any citizen aged between 40 and 65

years may propose to stand as candidate in the presidential elections. Members of Parliament will also be elected by universal suffrage, instead of having recourse to a series of electoral colleges like at present. During a public meeting lasting five hours in Maputo, Joachim Chissano said that he was nevertheless against foregoing the one-party system although he recommended the opening of a national debate on the advantages of multipartism.

For the first time, the right to strike is part of the proposed Constitution as is the restoration of a form of private property. Land, which for the time being, belongs to the State may be sold to individuals who will then be able to pass it on to those who inherit it from them. Judicial power will be entirely beyond State control and the death sentence is to be abolished.

### \* RSA Ends Support for Renamo in Lisbon

*34000337C Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN  
NEWSLETTER in English 13 Jan 90 p 2*

[Text] According to information obtained by the INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER, the [Republic of] South African [RSA] "services" have recently put an end to the support they gave to the RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance] delegation in Lisbon. The fax and coding/decoding system used by the organisation in their communications has been completely dismantled. Portuguese sources have acknowledged that "for the time being, the visible aspects of Pretoria's support to the guerrilla force no longer exist."

Furthermore, the head of external relations of RENAMO, Brigadier Raul Domingos, was staying in Carcavelos, on the outskirts of Lisbon at the end of last year at the invitation of the SIM, formerly known as DINFO—the Portuguese military information services. While the trip was organised with the approval of the Portuguese government which had, itself, informed Maputo, the head of the RENAMO contingent in Lisbon was not informed of his visit.

### \* Ministers Clash Over Defense Budget

*34000337A Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN  
NEWSLETTER/ in English 13 Jan 90 pp 1, 3*

[Text] Tensions which have surfaced in the last few months between the Mozambican Prime Minister, Mario Machungo and the Minister for Defence, General Alberto Chipande over the amount of military spending provided for in the budget, have worsened over the past weeks. In January 1987, after the government introduced the economic reforms as requested by the IMF and the World Bank, Mario Machungo and the Finance Minister Abdul Magid Osman, insisted on the necessity for closer monitoring of military spending. Since the creation of the post of Prime Minister in 1986, Defence, Security and Foreign Affairs have remained the ministries to be directly under the control of the President.

Once the International Monetary Fund had made its recommendations, Messrs Machungo and Osman stepped up the pressure on the Ministry of Defence in an effort to reduce the number of soldiers in the government forces from 50,000 to 30,000 and, at the same time, to reinforce the controls on the Armed Forces spending. Apparently, these measures affected the higher echelons of the military hierarchy and the lower ranked officers, whose wages, according to the government's confidential estimates, accounted for a disproportionate amount of military salaries each year. The soldiers, however, were only ever paid infrequently, but they were still expected to continue to fight in often difficult logistic conditions.

The military chiefs, including the Minister of Defence, were extremely vexed by the measures imposed by the government and accused Messrs Machungo and Osman of being opposed to a "war economy" which should render defence a budget priority. Some members of the military even blamed the failure to defeat RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance] on the austerity which the two Ministers had managed to impose on the country's economy. Last September, relations between General Chipande on one hand, and Mario Machungo and Hagid Osman on the other, deteriorated further after the two Ministers refused to disburse 600 million meticais (about 700,000 dollars) which they intended to spend on celebrations commemorating the Mozambican Armed Forces' 25th anniversary.

During the last Central Committee meeting, the question of the budget for Defence was put very crudely by an Army captain, "Comrade President, how can we win the war if questions of defence are settled unilaterally by the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister?" The question was fiercely debated by the Committee and Lieutenant-General Raimundo Pachinwapa asked Messrs Machungo and Chipande, "to come forward and openly discuss the problems which exist between the two of you and to establish why the reasons why the Army is so ill equipped."

Last December, during the People's Assembly, Major General Eduardo Nihia accused the government led by Mario Machungo of corruption and nepotism. Mr Machungo immediately offered to resign. However, within the Central Committee and Parliament, the general feeling which prevails that corruption within the Armed Forces is only getting worse. This is how Mario Machungo and Hagid Osman managed to reduce defence spending in the provisional budget for 1990 to 36 percent (280 million meticais) of the overall budget as against 42 percent in 1989. And while all the discussions are going on, the discontent of the soldiers who have not been paid since September 1989, continues to grow.

**\* Zairean Mediator Reportedly Dies in Accident**  
**34000337B Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN**  
**NEWSLETTER in English 13 Jan 90 p 2**

[Text] According to a clandestine newsletter LE COMBAT POUR LA DEMOCRATIE ET LE PROGRES published by the opposition party in Zaire, the Union nationale pour la democratie et le progres social (UDPS) a mediator sent by President Mobutu to try to reconcile the RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels with the Mozambican government recently died "in an alleged road accident."

The exact spot where the accident occurred has not been disclosed, but given the situation at the time of his death; it can be presumed that he was in Mozambique. The same source names the deceased as Boketshu Anzolo, a representative of the Head of State of Zaire.

Although this information has yet to be confirmed, the reality of Zaire's mediation role in the Mozambican conflict is true. In attending the Luso-speaking Summit in Cape Verde in mid-December, President Chissano made a short stop-over in Zaire where he met, en tete-a-tete with President Mobutu (ION No 411). Last October, THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER (ION No 402) also reported that President Mobutu had agreed to receive members of Mozambique's regular Armed Forces for training in Zaire. These soldiers who should begin their training programme in February are expected to form a special unit, for "the protection of urban areas and anti-rural banditism."

**Namibia**

**Constituent Assembly Adopts Constitution 9 Feb**  
**MB0902084690 Johannesburg SAPA in English**  
**0845 GMT 9 Feb 90**

[Text] Windhoek, Feb 9, SAPA—A constitution for the independent Republic of Namibia was adopted at a sitting of the 72-member Constituent Assembly in Windhoek on Friday.

Due to a lack of space in the debating hall, the sitting was held outside the front steps to the historic Tintenpalast Building.

South Africa's administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and the UN deputy special representative, Mr Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, were among the dignitaries attending the ceremony held against a backdrop of a four by six metre preamble to the new constitution.

**Five Walvis Bay 'Political Prisoners' Released**  
*MB0902142090 Umtata Capital Radio in English*  
*1300 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[Text] Five political prisoners have been released from jail in Walvis Bay. Duncan Guy reports:

[Guy] Namibia's administrator general, Louis Pienaar, announced South Africa's decision that five prisoners convicted last November for public violence could go free. They were serving three-year sentences.

Pienaar has directed the same amnesty to members of the South African-led security forces which occupied Namibia who performed alleged atrocities. The most famous prisoner is (Leonar Chiharmer), who had been given a multiple death sentence following the bombing in the port town which caused five deaths. (Chiharmer) is also accused of causing 28 deaths in the Oshakati bank blast, but he remains in death row at Pretoria's central prison.

**Nujoma Assures San Communities on Settlement**  
*MB0802211190 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1532 GMT 8 Feb 90*

[Text] Windhoek Feb 8 SAPA—SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leader and Namibia's president-elect, Mr. Sam Nujoma, has assured members of two bushman (San) communities in northern Namibia that they would not be restricted to one area or removed from the land they occupied.

Representatives of two former SWA [South-West African] Territory Force bushman battalions, from

Omega and Caprivi and Mangetti Dune in Kavango, held talks with Mr. Nujoma in Windhoek on Wednesday [7 February].

"You will not be restricted to one area, you will be able to settle where you would like to be and removing you from your land is out of the question," Mr. Nujoma said.

He stressed that freedom and independence meant all Namibians would be equal and have the right to live within the borders of the country.

"The conflict and war which was between us is over," Mr. Nujoma said.

UNTAG [UN Transitional Assistance Group] and the Office of the Administrator-General, Mr. Louis Pienaar, were assisting the newly-elected government in bringing peace, equality and stability to all people in Namibia irrespective of colour, religion or place of birth.

"We fought against the South African Army. We cannot continue again with war. We opt for peace, stability and brotherhood," Mr. Nujoma said. "War is a hated thing, everything we did to each other during the war should be forgotten."

Mr. Nujoma told the delegates their people would be able to participate in government in an independent Namibia.

On the question of drought relief aid, Mr. Nujoma said the shadow cabinet and the United Nations special representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, had already asked the international community for material support for war and drought victims, including the bushmen.

Meanwhile an official spokesman, Mr. Gerhard Roux, said Mr. Pienaar would personally travel to the north on Friday to attend final discussions on the future of the bushman communities at Omega and Mangetti.

**Benin****Former President Emile Derlin Zinsou Returns Home**  
*AB0702220990 Cotonou Domestic Service in French  
1930 GMT 7 Feb 90*

[Text] Emile Derlin Zinsou, former president of the country, today returned to Cotonou after an exile of more than 17 years. Mr Zinsou, who will participate in the national conference slated for 19-24 February, was welcomed at the Cotonou International Airport this morning by about 1,000 militants of his party and curious citizens. He is the leader of the National Union for Democracy and Progress, which is one of the four political formations rallied within the Rally of the Democratic Forces.

**Burkina Faso****Exiled Rebel Boukary Kabore on Plans To Return**  
*AB0702204190 London BBC World Service in English  
1709 GMT 7 Feb 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Captain Compaore's government in Burkina Faso has been feeling rather insecure recently, with allegations of coup plots and conspiracies. In September last year, an alleged coup attempt was uncovered, and two supporters of the late Captain Thomas Sankara who was assassinated in the 1987 coup, Ministers Lengani and Zongo, were executed. Then, there was more trouble in December, and a finger was pointed at another close associate of Sankara's, Boukary Kabore, known as the Lion of Burkina Faso. He has been in Ghana since the 1987 coup and denies any involvement with the December plot. Well, while my colleague, Julian Marshal, was in Ghana last week, he asked Boukary Kabore, what his feelings were toward Captain Compaore.

[Begin recording] [Kabore] If, for instance, someone wants to know if today, me, myself, I am with or against Blaise [Compaore], I will let everybody know that I am against, because I think Blaise has destroyed our revolution. And me, myself, at the first time, I told him, it is very bad because you killed your friend to take the power. You spoiled the country.

[Marshal] Do you believe that Lengani and Zongo were trying to overthrow Compaore?

[Kabore] Oh, I do not think so. But as Blaise wanted to be alone for the power, because he feared too much, if for instance the people tried to say, oh, this one is good, this one maybe can do something good for us, Blaise wanted to kill him.

[Marshal] Do you think that now that Lengani and Zongo have gone, and that Compaore is on his own, that he is now very vulnerable?

[Kabore] When you press the people, maybe one day the people can protest. It is exactly, I think, what we saw everywhere. You press, you press, if at last the people become so pressed, they can revolt and fight against you. But I think for the first time, they fear. This is the problem. And I think I am not dead up till now. I am still alive, and it is a problem for Blaise too. He tried to send someone to kill me and do anything to... [changes thought] I think all what is said in Burkina Faso there is to spoil my name.

[Marshal] You said that Compaore has sent somebody here to try to kill you?

[Kabore] Oh, yeah. Yes, yes, yes: I am waiting. Maybe one day...

[Marshal, interrupting] Do you have any plans to return to Burkina Faso in some way or other?

[Kabore] I have to plan to return because I cannot be a rabbit which is going to be shot at every time. If I am a man like Blaise, if Blaise wanted to kill me, I think it is better for me to face him and fight against him. That is why I have to plan and return there.

[Marshal] And when do you think that will be?

[Kabore] Ooooh, I cannot give a time for that, but I think with what I see, if I make a good analysis, I think Blaise cannot keep there for a long time. Unless he kills me.

[Marshal] And if you do plan to go back to Burkina Faso to mount a coup against Compaore or whatever, would you expect to have the help of the Ghanaian authorities?

[Kabore] Oh, I think everything has to happen in Burkina Faso there. And me, myself, I know that I got a lot of people to do this case without any help abroad.

[Marshal] But what is your relationship with the Ghanaian authorities?

[Kabore] I am here, I think the Ghanaian authorities know that I am here. But I do not get close relations with them, because I know it is a problem. And now I cannot get relations with them, but as I am here, they accepted me here, and I think it is enough. [end recording]

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12 Feb 1990

